/165 cont./

152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them; psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

574 When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at
576 some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing
521 place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it
*[192] in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! maxsã nĩti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch
*[192] each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatĩ mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

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• 484 823 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw [171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 802 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

Number	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	nikâ, nikõ	nikõ	niká
2	põãra, põana	põãra, põana	põá, põáro
3	i'tyãra, i'tyãna	i'tyãra, i'tyãna	i'tyá, I'tyáro
4	ba'pári-tĩra	ba'pari-tĩra	ba'pári-tise
(Uaupes)	bapári-tĩna	ba'pári-tĩna	
5	niká-mũkõra	niká-mũkõra	niká-mũkõse
(Uaupés)	niká-mũkõna	niká-mũkõna	

It should be noted that Niká-mũkõ̃ra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 804 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or length. They speak of sẽẽrõ (sẽẽnõ), nikáti sẽẽrõ, the breadth of the arm span or the two open arms, põáti sẽẽrõ, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamũ-ka keoró or wamũ-pama-keoró, niká pama, one handspan, põá wamũ-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamũ-ka-peosé, four handspans.

4: Silva--731 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

192 /482 cont./

621 476 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 527 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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oped: heads of the brachycephalic type: though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians customarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiarí among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiarí to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes. His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pʉdíwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépʉdíwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four. The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult; the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaino* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or, for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be precisely geared to a season.

While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 [251] [417] [614] [237] After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaïeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

226 484 574 602

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 50, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk.

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly.

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets.

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out.

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we

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area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

MULTILINGUALISM

[611] [582] [591] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] [583] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

[582] [593] A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter, real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other